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Will de Gaulle Strike Hard Now?

The French crisis is not over. It has hardly begun. The trouble with the right granted de Gaulle to govern by decree without parliament is that it further narrows his base, makes his rule even more personal. Not legal power but the will to use it has been missing. That stage-managed little revolt of Fascist windbags in Algiers only reflected a widespread conspiracy within his own regime and the officer corps. To purge it he must purge many of those who brought him to power. The collapse of the revolt in Algiers when he replaced the paratroopers with conscript soldiers showed he can remake the Army. The united strike demonstration by Communist, Socialist and Catholic trade unions demonstrated that he can find a wider base than that peculiar amalgam of rightist malcontents who used him to overthrow the Fourth Republic. But though de Gaulle loves France, he seems to distrust its people. He has contempt for the French officer corps, and its ineptitude. He has said it was against Dreyfus and for Petain. But he seems to share its incapacity for democratic politics. He shrinks from calling into being that popular army and broad front which waits to support him in ending the Algerian war. It is too late to play Louis XIV.

Still Fostering Delusions

Those American commentators who praise de Gaulle for telling his people the truth are mistaken. He is far from candid. The truth is that the Algerian war cannot be ended without negotiating a ceasefire and the conditions for a referendum with the Algerian Nationalist FLN. The longer such negotiations are delayed the harder it will be to prevent a vote for independence. De Gaulle is still fostering the delusion that somehow Algeria can be "pacified" into remaining part of France. The price he paid for putting down the revolt in Algiers was to promise no political talks with the FLN, and to allow the Army sterner measures of repression (when torture and mistreatment are already a scandal and have dug a deep gulf between French and Arab). Last September he was talking of a referendum not longer than four years after pacification or a cease-fire. Now he speaks of working out "at leisure when peace has returned" the ways and means "of this or that French solution." This is an odd variety of self-determination. He tells the Army that "when the time comes to undertake the consultation, you will have to guarantee its complete and genuine freedom." This cynical wink marks a step backward. The FLN will never lay down its arms without guarantees of a free internationally observed election.

The FLN had reformed its Cabinet and gotten rid of its own die-hards in preparation for talks.* De Gaulle had opened broad vistas by promising self-determination. The FLN on its part had dropped its demand that independence be recognized before it would negotiate. The stage was set for talks before the summit meeting, and such talks would have strengthened de Gaulle's hand. That time-table has been upset by the revolt and the possibility of negotiation narrowed by de Gaulle's new cloudy promises. These can be broken. The Army chiefs must fear that the promises *will* be broken. The question is whether de Gaulle will move swiftly to purge the conspirators and free his hands for negotiation or whether he will be content to punish a few small fry and allow the conspirators to close ranks for a new try. De Gaulle has shown them more clearly than before that he is not their man. The issue now is whether they will be allowed to prepare a Fascist coup or whether de Gaulle will strike hard against them while there is time. The stake is not Algeria. It is France.

How State Dept. Helps U.S. Understand France

As its contribution to clarifying the French crisis, the State Dept.'s Foreign Leadership Program presented a Mme. Suzanne Labin as a distinguished French journalist to a press conference in Washington Feb. 2. She has been lecturing around the country under the Department's auspices and she offered the following opinions (1) that de Gaulle may be in trouble because he is not friendly enough to NATO, (2) that his invitation to Khrushchov was a mistake, (3) that she is worried because Mrs. Roosevelt does not take the Communist menace seriously enough, and (4) that 1,000,000 Chinese students and professors have been sent to labor camps in Communist China where news of widespread revolts is being suppressed as she learned in Hong Kong and will show in a book soon to be published here. Mme. Labin also claimed to be the author of Article 4 of the new French Constitution "which outlaws the Communist party." M. Jean Baube, press officer of the French Embassy, said he had never heard of Mme. Labin nor of the French Communist party being outlawed. Her State Dept. biography says that she has written "various articles" (publications unspecified) but one French Embassy source said she is a free lance who writes for Occident which is the French version of the bi-lingual Western World "a non-profit magazine devoted to NATO affairs" edited by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. His office said she had written three anti-Communist articles for it, one entitled "The Opium Traffic Serves the Communist Conspiracy." Mme. Labin seems to specialize in dope.

*** For brilliant and sober reporting of the events behind the revolt see Claude Bourdet's independent left weekly, France-Observateur, especially the issues of Jan. 14, 21 and 28 (10 rue des Pyramides, Paris Ier).**

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Despite Pressure Campaign by Fulton Lewis, Bi-Racial Group Stands Firm

Volunteer Civil Rights Commission Hears Negroes From Deep South

Despite a Red scare campaign by radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., a group of 16 white and Negro organizations held a one-day hearing here in Washington last Sunday, Jan. 31, at which ten witnesses were heard by a Volunteer Civil Rights Commission. Former Governor McKeldin of Maryland, who was to have been a member of the commission, discovered a prior engagement a few days after the Fulton Lewis campaign began, and Vermont Ave. Baptist Church cancelled permission to hold the hearing on its premises, and it met at Asbury Methodist instead. But these were Lewis's only victories. His main target, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church, stood firm and took part as a member of the Commission.* "I see segregation," he said, with impressive simplicity, "not as an economic or a political issue but as a religious issue. The Bible says, 'love one another.' You do not segregate those you love."

The hearing was a triumph for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, its president Aubrey Williams, its director James Dombrowski, and its field representative, Carl Braden. They brought together, among others, the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Tuskegee Civic Association, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the United Christian Movement of Louisiana. These are what might be called front line organizations of the darkest South. The stars were the witnesses. Their own words below are eloquent.

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* The other members were Rt. Rev. Geo. W. Baber, Phila., presiding Bishop of the African M.E. Church; Rev. Wm. Holmes Borders, Atlanta, pres. of the National Fraternal Council of Churches; Philip A. Camponeschi, of the Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Dr. Roland P. Mackay, Chicago, editor, Yearbook of Neurology; and Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, Presiding Bishop of the African M.E. Zion Church.

Negroes Tell of Chicanery and Terror Used to Prevent Them from Voting

". . . he [the registrar] asked me to write in long-hand the Second Article of the Constitution. This I did. Following this, he asked me to read aloud the first part of the (First) Article of the Constitution. This I did . . . I was asked to fill a questionnaire of about four pages. . . . The entire procedure took me about one hour and 10 or 15 minutes. Immediately after this I went out and found the person who was to vouch for me, and presented him to the Board of Registrars. After being unable to hear from the Board during the year 1957, I returned in October 1958. . . . I was advised that if I had not heard from them it was because I had failed in the examination."

—Dr. Daniel W. Wynn, Prof. Philosophy, Tuskegee, Ala.

Q. They disqualified you because your application was not filled out correctly?

A. That is so.

Q. Yet you own 500 acres of land and have taught for 34 years?

A. 34 years. Other than that we have teachers in the parish that cannot even go to the Registrars Office with their Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Arts, Masters Degrees and also Ph. D.'s.

Q. Did they tell you what was wrong with your application?

A. They did not.

—Prof. J. N. Blankenship, Saline, Louisiana.

"I have lived in this area 50 years. I have tried to pay my poll tax and register three times, and have been turned down. I was informed by the Deputy Sheriff no Negroes could pay poll taxes in Tallahatchie County [where Emmett Till was murdered—IFS]. Many of us are afraid to register because of fear of loss of job, credit and violence. . . .

"I taught school in Tallahatchie County. I taught there for about 12 years. One night I was stopped. I had my family in the car and I was intimidated for exactly one hour and a half. About maybe a year after that, I received a letter from the County Superintendent that my services would not be required for the coming year."

—Grafton R. Gray, Charleston, Miss.

"We are given an educational test which is not known to be given to any member of the white race in our state. This test is really not a test but it is more of a trial for Negroes applying for registration. The first step in this trial for registration, she [the registrar] gives you a copy of the Constitution to read from and you begin reading until she says stop, and you ask her did you pass, and she says no. You mispronounced a word. Everything has to be perfect in order to pass." *—Mrs. Louise Lassiter, Seaboard, N. C.*

"We have not had a single Negro registered in Haywood County, Tenn., since Reconstruction Days. When we registered our charter [as a Negro Civic and Welfare League—IFS] in the courthouse, a white man took his stick and beat one of our members who went to pick up the charter to the extent that he had to receive stitches on his face.

"Other members of our organization were made to move—those who were tenant farmers. Others were fired outright. I lost my position as a principal in the elementary school. . . . We have had all kinds of threats. . . . Most of us have been fined for some reason or other. . . . We have been denied loans from banks and most of the business places will not deal with our members anymore.

"Back in 1940 one of the citizens was lynched because he wanted to vote. The FBI investigated this and they investigated the investigation. Nothing was done."

—Curry P. Boyd, Haywood County, Tennessee.

"The FBI came out there while I was picking cotton [to investigate his complaint that he had not been allowed to vote though registered—IFS]. They told me to go and tell the Sheriff everything I know, that that was the thing to do, and so that night I received a threatening telephone call. From that day to this, my wife and family and myself were threatened. This FBI man who came out to investigate, he was a native of Fayette County. He knew my father and before him my grandfather, and we went back and talked with our legal counsel and we wrote to Hoover here in Washington. They sent another investigator out. I was on the hot dog stand. That is where I was.

"Now, the teachers in the county are scared to register. They are even scared to talk to me on the street. When they see me coming, they run the other way and many farmers are harmed today on account we want to come to be first class citizens. They are making us move by the hundreds. . . . When we go up to register, the landlord would walk up and down to see if any of his tenants were in line. When they go to register, the Sheriff gets the names and calls the landlord, and the landlord would make him move that night. . . . I was threatened, 'If you keep with that voting issue, you will come up with a necktie around your neck.'

"Q. Have you ever voted?

"A. I never voted in my life."

—John McFerren, Fayette County, Tenn.

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He Seems Intent on Proving That We, Too, Have An Iron Curtain Mentality

Why Walter Is Worth His Weight in Ural Gold to Red Propaganda

Suppose the U.S. had held a world youth festival in 1957 and the Russians had done their best to discourage any of their young people from attending. A delegation had gone anyway. On its return the leaders were summoned to the Foreign Office in Moscow and deprived of their passports. Then they were subpoenaed on suspicion of pro-capitalism to appear before an un-Russian Activities Committee headed by Tadeusz Walterovich, a fine old Bolshevik type who'd send his own grandmother to the Siberian gold mines on suspicion of keeping an icon under her mattress. Suppose the hearings then proceeded to glorify those Russians who went to the festival only to inform on the others, and you get a pretty good picture of what the hearings just begun in Washington look like to the outside world.

What is happening here before the House Un-American Activities Committee is worth so much to Communist propaganda that our government ought to take that new $327,000 appropriation for the Un-Americans and add it to Moscow's lend-lease account. At a press conference here the week before the hearings opened, spokesmen for the five youth festival leaders subpoenaed said the first thing asked at the Moscow festival in 1957 was whether they weren't afraid of losing their passports and being hauled before the un-American Activities Committee. The Committee is doing its best to make Moscow's worst distortions about the USA come true.

Walter Must Appear in Court

Federal Judge Edward Weinfeld Jan. 28 denied a government motion to quash a subpoena requiring Chairman Walter of House Un-Americans to appear as a witness in the forthcoming trial of Pete Seeger, the folk singer, for contempt. Seeger pleaded the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions in the 1957 investigation of the entertainment business. His trial begins March 21.

The truth about the youth festivals at Moscow, Warsaw and Vienna will never filter through to Walter and his colleagues who are the American equivalent of Russia's old-line Stalinists. The truth is that the youth festivals were important, Iron Curtain lifting affairs. During the one in Moscow, all bars were down and Russians could invite foreigners to their homes and talk with them in a way that is still rare in the Soviet Union. The result was an eye-opener.

If They Could Only Subpoena Ike

"Eisenhower's invitation to Khrushchov was the greatest victory for any enemy of America since Pearl Harbor."

—Evangelist Billy J. Hargis addressing the annual convention of the rightist "We, The People", Chicago Tribune, Sept. 19, 1959 (see box below).

"Such groups as the American Association of University Professors, some justices of the Supreme Court and highly placed policy makers of the Executive branch of the Government do not and will not understand the threat of Communism."

—Chairman Walter of House Un-American, to National Society of New England Women, N.Y. Times Jan. 26.

"Cultural exchanges between Eastern and Western countries are now an important part of the Administration's foreign policy. As the Un-American Committee can hardly subpoena President Eisenhower, or stop his projected trip to Moscow, it has to content itself with subjecting young people who have been responsible for getting groups to participate in cultural exchanges to extreme harassment and punishment."

—Joanne Grant, exec. Secretary of the U.S. Festival Committee last year, one of those subpoenaed by Walter, in York, Pa., Gazette and Daily, Jan. 29.

For not a few party-liners among our youth, the visit was a sobering revelation quite different from their fairy tale picture of a workers' paradise. For many Russians skeptical of their own press, contact with our and other Western youngsters corrected propaganda stereotypes about our own country.

I know from my own experience that young people (and old) in both Russia and Poland are hungry for escape from the stuffy atmosphere of party line conformism. But I also know they are regretfully skeptical of Americans who talk to them of freedom. Walter and the witch hunters are worth their weight in Ural gold to sophisticated Soviet apologists who say we're as insincere in our talk about freedom as they are. Walter proves their point.

Here, when the hearings opened just before press time last week, was a secret police informer, Herbert Philbrick, in the witness stand and Un-American Counsel Ahrens was pompously putting the first question, "tell us about the importance to Communism of youth. . . ."

Walter Puts "Christian Crusade" Material Into the Congressional Record

The tendency of the House Un-American Activities Committee to turn a blind and brotherly eye on the lunatic fringe of the right is an old story. It is new, however, to have Chairman Walter put rightist literature into the Congressional Record. He seems to have been enthralled by a discourse, "The Reds Are After Our Panama Canal", by Billy James Hargis, president of something called The Christian Crusade. Walter not only put this gem into the appendix of the Congressional Record Jan. 12 but included it again in remarks from the floor a week later, Jan. 19, claiming that the Government Printing Office had made some error in the earlier version. The speech warns "Moscow has had its evil eye upon the Panama Canal for a long time, as the activities of Alger Hiss showed." Somebody must have caught Hiss digging.

Hargis is a Tulsa, Oklahoma, evangelist. Last September in Chicago he was elected president of a right wing grouping called "We, The People" which brings under one roof a variety of reactionary and crypto-Fascist addlepates including the venerable Elizabeth Dilling whose book, The Red Network, alerted the country in the 30's to the menace of the New Deal. Hargis unlike one wing of this movement is not considered anti-Semitic. He seems, from the speech he made to the convention, a middle-of-the-roader. "Look I'm no Jew," he told his followers cutely, "I'm just a plain old gentile but I say we should expose the Rosenbergs not because they're Jews but because they're Communists." Obviously Hargis like Walter is a liberal.

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President's Friendly Words Undercut by Too Much Red Menace Talk from CIA

How Eastland and Dodd Help Anti-American Propaganda in Castro's Cuba

Except for its reference to "the intrigues of international communism" the formal statement issued by the President last week and even more his simple words of friendship for the Cuban people at press conference deserve commendation. We are glad to see signs that Castro and the Cuban press have taken the cue and piped down on a rather hysterical anti-Americanism. If our government agencies will reciprocate by ending statements which imply that the Castro revolution is a Communist plot, the way may be paved toward friendly and helpful relations. Cuba must not be allowed to become our Latin American Hungary.

At this delicate juncture, Senator Eastland is (like Walter) a gift to Communist propaganda. He symbolizes exactly the kind of landlord rule and contempt for colored peoples against which Latin America has long been in revolt; his friendship for Trujillo is notorious. Dodd of Connecticut, vice chairman of Internal Security, is becoming as bad as Eastland. This new Democratic Senator, an ex FBI man, overrode State Dept. protests last year to allow Pedro Diaz Lanz to use the committee as a propaganda sounding board against Castro. The least the Administration can do is to forbid CIA officials like Gen. C. P. Cabell from testifying before it. His own rightist preconceptions meshed too easily with the Committee's though more sophisticated. Lost to attention in the scare stories and headlines precipitated by the release of the Cabell testimony to the Eastland committee Jan. 31 was his statement that "the assigned task of the Cuban Communist Party" is to prevent Castro "from establishing friendly relations with the United States." In this Eastland and Dodd help the Reds.

MORSE SAYS WHAT THE OTHER DEMOCRATS DIDN'T: In a speech at Salem, Oregon, Jan. 29, before the Democratic State Platform Committee, Senator Morse became the first Democratic candidate to bring up the Eden memoirs and to warn that they showed how unreliable were the peace claims of Eisenhower and Nixon.

CLARK ADVOCATES NEGOTIATION WITH CHINA: Clark (*D. Pa.*) became the first Senator clearly to ask negotiation with Communist China. In a speech before the ADA in Phila. Jan. 30, Clark said Washington and Peking each has things it wants from the other, "When two nations both want something from the other, a basis for negotiation exists. We have nothing to lose by making overtures for negotiation. . . ."

Words Too Sane to Make Headlines

"One of the complaints frequently heard about the United States in Venezuela and elsewhere in Latin America is that it views liberal reform governments askance and does not care about social progress."

—Report on Latin America by Senator Aiken (R. Vt.) to Senate Foreign Relations, Feb. 2.

"Rightly or wrongly, U.S. enterprises and U.S. foreign policy are frequently accused of partiality to Latin American dictators. . . . The task of bridging the abyss of mutual suspicion falls on U.S. government policy. Radical reform movements appear to be inexorable forces in Latin America, which cannot be exorcised by ostracism, and are probably the major political instrument by which various indigenous obstacles to Latin American economic development may be broken through. U.S. policy should seek more consistently than heretofore for points of concordance, despite the explosive rhetoric of Latin American radicalism."

—U. S. Latin American Relations, Study by Univ. of Chicago Research Center, for Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on American Republics, Jan. 22.

ADD FEEBLE SCRAWLS ON GREAT MONUMENTS: At a dinner in honor of Father Francis E. Lucey to mark his 50 years as a Jesuit and 30 years as regent of Georgetown Law School, Chief Judge E. Barrett Prettyman of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia praised Father Lucey for being the first to call the philosophy of Oliver Wendell Holmes materialistic and agnostic. (*Wash. Star*, Jan. 29).

FOR HISTORIANS (IF ANY) AFTER WORLD WAR III: Don Maclean, Washington *Daily News* local columnist reported (Jan. 21) Dept. of Defense had issued instruction cards to its employes on what to do in case of atomic attack: If unable to find any headquarters or military installations left at which to report, "then go to the nearest Post Office, fill out and mail a Federal Employes Registration Card." The card does not say what to do if there doesn't seem to be any post-office anymore.

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IFS Will Introduce Rustum Bastuni, Arab editor and former member of the Israeli Keneseth to speak on Arab-Jewish relations for Americans for Progressive Israel, 8 p. m. Feb. 16, Community Church, 40 E. 35th St., New York

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